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THE GREAT ROBBERY.

The extraordinary revelation of villainy at Washington, made in the report of the House Committee on the theft of the Indian Fund bonds, which we publish in another part of this morning's paper, will be very certain to fix the public attention. We hardly know which most to wonder at, the boldness of this successful robbery, or the cool audacity with which it was perpetrated in for so long a time without discovery. It is a very striking commentary upon the looseness with which affairs have been conducted at Washington that so gigantic a burglary could be going on under the eyes of the Government officials, and certainly known to some of them, and no other method taken of arresting it than a gentle word of expostulation.

It may be remembered that we said, when the abstraction of the Indian Trust Bonds was made public, that their theft did not at all explain the acceptances of Mr. Secretary Floyd, which were floating about in the market, and one of which was brought to protest just before the explosion at Washington. It was clear that acceptances lodged in banks in this city or in Boston, whether for collection or discount, could have nothing to do with those deposited in place of the abstracted bonds. And this view is confirmed by the investigations of the Committee, who show that Mr. Secretary Floyd and Mr. Contractor Russell have palmed off upon the public these virtual forgeries of an indebtedness of the War Department, and have robbed their confiding dupes of the enormous sum of more than Five Millions of Dollars! Nor was this any ordinary defalcation. Reprehensible as the crime may be when a man is betrayed by a foolish confidence in his own good management or his own good fortune, there may be something pardoned to his weakness when a just retribution overtakes him; but how much more deserving of punishment is he who deliberately uses the authority and influence of a public office, not to rob the State, through some criminal mistake of judgment, but to filch from the pockets of innocent individuals who have no means of defense, immense sums of money for which, in the nature of the case, there can be, except in the compensation of the Government, no remuneration. It would almost seem a necessity of the laws of nature that a Government where such corruption is possible needs the purgation of revolution and reconstruction.

MR. LINCOLN'S POLICY.

The line of policy which Mr. Lincoln will pursue as President of the United States is plainly indicated in his recent speech at Indianapolis, and still more plainly in two remarkable articles which appeared in *The Springfield (Ill.) Journal* of last week, and which, as the French say, were obviously "inspired" by him, if not actually written by his own hand. These articles have all the characteristics of Mr. Lincoln's bold, direct, and forcible style of thought and expression, and strike at the heart of the subject, just as the ax of the rail-splitter would cleave the heart of a log, rending and cutting through the toughest knots of sophism and fallacy. They declare that compromise is not to be thought of. They declare that concession must be made, but must be made by the South. That the Southern States must concede that ours is a Government proper and not a compact between States; that a State cannot dissolve its connection with the Union at will; that the Government has a right to enforce its laws and that it is the duty of the Government to retake from Southern traitors its stolen forts, arsenals, &c. "We want the South to concede 'that after Abraham Lincoln has taken an oath 'to support the Constitution of the United States, it is his duty to observe it. We want 'them to concede that the Seceding States have 'violated the Constitution—that they are in 'rebellion against the Federal Government, and that 'it is the duty of this Government to put down 'rebellion. We want them to concede that the 'taking of Federal forts and firing upon the Star 'of the West, are insults that should be atoned 'for. We ask them to concede that Northern 'creditors have a right to sue for and collect 'their demands in Southern Courts. We ask 'them to concede that Slavery is the creature of 'local law. In all this we do not ask the South 'to concede a single thing that is not demanded 'by the Constitution of the United States. Until 'they do concede all this, they ought not to ex-'pect that the North has any concession to 'make.' After recapitulating the outrages committed by the rebels and their flagrant insults to the American flag, *The Springfield Journal* exclaims: "Away with compromises at an hour like this! 'Let us first establish the fact that we have a 'Government—a Government able to protect it-'self and punish treason. We should not talk 'about compromise while the flag of the traitors 'floats over an American fort, and the flag of our 'country trails in the dust. Until that flag is 'unfurled over Moultrie, and every other stolen 'fort, arsenal, custom-house, and navy-yard—un-'til the laws of this Government are obeyed, and 'its authority recognized, let us never talk about 'compromise. Let the stolen forts, arsenals, and 'navy-yards be restored to the rightful owner—'tear down your rattlesnake and pelican flag, and 'run up the ever-glorious stars and stripes—dis-'perse your traitorous mobs, and let every man 'return to his duty. Then come to us with 'your list of grievances, and whatever manhood, 'honor, or patriotism can yield, shall be fully 'accorded.' Mr. Lincoln's Administration, *The Journal* says, will fearlessly and faithfully perform its whole duty; will execute all the laws, defend all the fortresses, and recover all the property belonging to the United States now in possession of rebels. This is not coercion, it is defense, it is preservation. As Mr. Lincoln says in his Indianapolis speech, the marching of an army into South Carolina to force her to submit would be coercion. "But if the United States should 'merely hold and retake its own forts and 'other property, and collect the duties on for-'eign importations, or even withhold the mails 'from places where they were habitually violated, 'would any or all these things be invasion or 'coercion?' Mr. Lincoln is clearly right. It is not coercion to uphold the Union, maintain the Constitution and enforce the laws. The President is bound by his oath to do these things. He has no alternative. He cannot honorably stand idly by, as Mr. Buchanan has done, while the Government is plundered and its flag insulted. But he need not invade States or attempt to coerce them into the Union. If they prefer to remain outside they can do so. But let us clearly understand what is meant by being out of the Union.

Here, again, *The Springfield Journal* states the case with force and clearness: "If those States 'which pretend to have gone out of the Union 'do not want to be represented in Congress, no 'one will compel them to send representatives 'there. If they do not want Post-Offices, they 'need not have them. If they desire to dispense 'with Judges, Marshals, and all other Federal 'officers, no force will be interposed to thwart 'their wishes. Those officers are created and 'filled almost solely for the accommodation and 'benefit of the people among whom they are 'placed. If those people do not desire such ac-'commodation or benefit, we assure them that 'neither Mr. Lincoln nor the Republican party 'will ever interfere to compel them to accept 'either. No hostile demonstration will ever be 'made against seceding States by the Federal 'Government, nor will national troops ever 'march through such States, except to recover 'or protect Federal property within their 'limits.' This covers the whole ground, and sketches the only plan by which the Union can be permanently and honorably maintained. The Slave States may play at being out of the Union as long as they like. They may govern themselves, and tax themselves, and arm themselves to their heart's content. They may withdraw their representatives from Congress where their presence in their present temper is neither needed nor desired, and they may decline to avail themselves of the advantages of the Federal Courts and post-offices. To that extent they may go out of the Union and stay out till they are tired of the position. But they cannot be allowed to rob the United States, to disobey or evade the revenue laws, or to hold unlawful intercourse with foreign nations. The supremacy of the American flag must be maintained not only from the St. Lawrence to the Potomac, but from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. Neither 'malice domestic nor foreign 'levy' can be allowed to tear one star from the standard of the Republic, or to sever one inch of the proud domain bequeathed to us by our ancestors. Patriotism, pride and policy alike demand that the control of the cotton and tobacco regions, of the mouth of the Mississippi, and of the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico, should be kept in our own hands, and not suffered to fall into those of a foreign and hostile power.

NO CONCESSIONS.

The recent speech of Mr. Charles Francis Adams presents with so much truth and power the absolute insignificance of the assigned grounds of difference between the North and the South, that if these were the real causes of a difference upon which such tremendous results depend, we ought to be regarded as contemptible and incapable if we did not adjust so trifling a dispute. There is a school of politicians among us (of which, however, Mr. Adams is not one) who see nothing in the controversy but these petty points, and regarding it with contempt, have sought to recommend themselves to the people as paragons of wisdom in a foolish age, and alone suited to take charge of the Government. These men would have accounted John Hampden a fool for setting the kingdom by the ears for so petty a matter as ship money. But quietism is not wisdom, and those who undertake to quell controversy involving fundamental, moral, and political principles by belittling the occasion of it, are incompetent as statesmen, however amiable or cultivated they may be. Mr. Adams has, perhaps, lived too much in the past to have a full appreciation of the present crisis; and his quotations from Burke and Chatham, and Bacon do not touch the case. This is not a revolt against oppression, real or imaginary, but a struggle to retain power against the popular will and against the forms and spirit of the Government.

The importance of this error relates not so much to the measures he proposes, as to the misconception it is calculated to lead to concerning the essential nature of the controversy. If those who meditate destroying the Federal Government under the forms of Secession and a Southern Confederacy had no clearer conception of what they are struggling for than to accept the proposed measures, it would be all well. But they contemptuously reject them; nor are they accepted even by the feeble well-wishers of the Government at the South. This business of compromise, looked at by living eyes—by men who understand Southern politics—is sacrificing the queen to the pawns. The hackneyed phrase of preferring the country to party, means, at such a crisis, only the destruction of the country itself.

We cannot afford to disarm ourselves by demoralizing the host of freemen who stand immovably for the Union and its Constitution as a charter of freedom, in order to get the uncertain aid of those who have not the manhood to stand up for the Constitution without an if. The number of those who would fight for the Union in the South, with Mr. Adams's bill passed by Republicans, and who would not stand for it without that measure, is too inconsiderable to be thought of; for the measures themselves are not of a character to satisfy any one not disposed to be satisfied without them. The usurpers will scout them as a cheat, and they will be prejudicial rather than helpful to the loyal men of the South. Let them defend the Government as it is. It needs no fig-leaf. The Union men at the South have grown in strength with the growth of the Republican party at the North, and have grown, too, under the constant charge of sympathizing with Republicans.

As there are no grievances, we should not give a color by offering concessions to the pretense set up. So far from such offers tending to conciliation and peace in the present temper of the usurpers, they tend to strengthen them in their position and incite new pretensions. What is really wanted is a manifestation of a resolved purpose to maintain the Union and enforce the laws. The South must be made to consider the real nature of the supposed affronts they have received, and they will not do that till they are made to respect their adversaries. Unfortunately the people of the South too great an extent regard the people of the North with distrust, predicated upon the notion that they will not maintain their rights in a manly way. It only needs to be understood that the people will maintain their rights, if necessary, in the field, to inspire a degree of respect which will cause the Southern rebels to consider, with entirely a different spirit, whether there is really any ground for the attempt they meditate of overthrowing the Government, in the frivolous grievances they are now so enraged about. They imagine that if the North is superior in numbers, it lacks the courage to maintain the Government it has taken possession of. Defeated at the ballot-box, they have appealed to arms to resist the judgment of

the people against them, because they do not respect the tribunal by which that judgment has been rendered. It is proper, of course, in a revolt so extended, to disarm the insurgents by persuasion and kindness, as far as practicable, but nothing of that kind will avail, unless it is seen and known that if these prove unavailing the laws will, nevertheless, be enforced. We have already seen that the fact the Government is beneficent avails nothing. It is time to show that it is strong, and does not stand or fall with the caprice of the minority.

DUTIES UNDER THE NEW TARIFF.

We have already stated that the rates of duty adopted in the tariff bill now before the U. S. Senate, substantially conform to those of the tariff of 1846, varying a little in many items, but agreeing quite well on the whole; the departures, where they happen to be considerable, being in fact a rectification of that tariff by its own standard of ruling rates. Of this proposition we now offer an additional demonstration.

The duty-paying imports of the years 1825-6-7 amounted to \$225,000,000; the Customs to \$63,000,000; averaging 28 per cent. The duty-paying imports of 1828-29-30-31-32, were \$373,000,000; the customs \$110,000,000; equal to an average of 29½ per cent. The duty-paying imports of 1844-5-6, amounted to \$275,000,000; the customs to \$80,000,000; averaging 29 per cent. These were under the specific-protective tariffs of 1824, 1828, and 1842, respectively.

The duty-paying imports of the ten years from 1847 to 1856, under the tariff of 1846, amounted to \$1,877,000,000; the customs to \$461,000,000; averaging, 24½ per cent. The duty-paying imports of the years 1858-9, under the tariff of 1857, amounted to \$461,000,000, yielding \$71,000,000 of customs, averaging 15½ per cent.

From these data it appears that the average rates of duties under the high protective tariffs of 1828 and 1842 were about 29 per cent, and under that of 1846 24½ per cent. Now let us see how the rates of duty in the Senate bill and those of the tariff of 1828 compare:

A single glance at this table of different rates shows that the 29 per cent average of the tariff of 1828 is reduced at least to the 24½ average of the tariff of 1846.

Woolens and cottons, under the tariff of 1828, ranged from 30 to 50 per cent. In the Senate bill it is safe to say that they seldom run above 30, and are on several articles below it. We are aware that it is quite possible to figure up some of the items of woolen and cotton goods in the tariff of 1828 to 100 per cent, and it is just as possible to exaggerate a few of the rates of the Senate bill to almost any per centage that the calculator pleases; for where dimes and cents are the factors, the hundredths in the product cast a portentous length of shadow upon the problem.

We doubt not that our readers will infer for themselves, from the instances presented, which in fact cover the great body and value of our imports, that the duties of the bill are at least as much below those of the tariff of 1828 as those of the tariff of 1846 were. That they are not lower, we need not argue with the opponents of the bill. We believe them to be about equivalent, alike upon the authority of the gentlemen engaged in framing the bill, and upon the fair presumption arising from our own rough mode of estimating them.

Now for the sufficiency of the rates of duty in the proposed tariff to meet the wants of the Treasury: We cannot, in the present condition of things, predict the quantity of foreign imports for the next year, or the next ensuing three, five, or ten years; and, of course, cannot put down in figures the revenue which is to be expected. But we know that the tariffs of 1824 and 1828 provided funds enough to bear the current expenses of the Government for the eight years of their operation, and to extinguish a funded debt of \$90,000,000, with interest and premiums, and a \$10,000,000 loan required to meet that amount of floating debt, beside.

We know that the tariff of 1842, which went into operation when the country and the Treasury were in the extreme state of depression, reduced the public debt from \$97,000,000 to less than \$17,000,000 before it expired. And we know that the tariff of 1846 in ten years raised \$510,000,000 from customs, which, with about \$50,000,000 from the public lands and miscellaneous sources, met the enormous expenditures of that period, and left money enough in the Treasury to extinguish the remaining public debt.

We are not bound to show that the Senate bill, whose rates of duty are about equal to those of the tariff of 1846, will yield the same amount of revenue in the years to come; but we furnish the evidence of a large experience to prove that its rates of duty will not prohibit, or so far diminish, importation by their own proper operation, as to disappoint our hope. The 29 per cent average duties of 1828 and 1842 had no such effect; and the 15½ per cent average duties of the tariff of 1857 have not prevented the present embarrassment of the Treasury; nor will the vast agricultural exports of the present year help it to restore solvency or credit to the fiscal condition of the Government. We think it clear enough that if duties twenty per cent higher than those proposed did not depress our foreign importations in 1828 and 1844 below the requirements of the exchequer, the proposed rates cannot by any possibility have such an effect. On the contrary, there are the best grounds for believing that the adaptation of the bill to the requirements of the national industry, will give the ability to purchase foreign goods to an extent quite beyond the amount of any safe-going year of the last fifteen. We have now more means for purchasing than we ever had before, and we want only the restoration of confidence to insure a prosperous commerce, both foreign and domestic.

Everybody knows that the average 15½ per cent duties of the present tariff are totally inadequate to the protection of our industry, and the wants of the Government. The provision for both these objects, which the bill fairly promises, is a necessity of the national revenue, the national credit, and the national industry. Let us have the bill, therefore, and without delay. As in the years 1824 and 1842, the trial of mere revenue and *ad valorem* tariffs compelled the changes of fiscal policy then adopted, so now, another experience of disaster from similar causes obliges us to resort again to the system that has

never once failed to vindicate its soundness and its sufficiency.

BUREAU FOR THE COLLECTION OF ASSESSMENTS.

We find, upon further examination of the reports made by the Street Department relative to the deficiencies in the Bureau for the Collection of Assessments during the Collectorship of Mr. Joseph R. Taylor, and his Deputies, Messrs. Libby, Oakley, and Sherwood, that while the total amount of the sum out of which the city has been defrauded is even greater than stated in our article of yesterday, the division of the sums retained by the Deputy Collectors was not precisely given.

In the report of Street Commissioner Cooper to the Board of Aldermen, dated 21st September, 1858, the total default of the bureau is set down at \$227,102 99, being twenty-three thousand dollars in excess of the sum stated yesterday; but of this grand aggregate, the final examination of the Hon. Horatio N. Sherwood's accounts showed that he had retained to his own use but \$13,671 12, for all the balance of the sums collected by him and never paid into the City Treasury. Mr. Sherwood holding the rather miscellaneous receipts of Collector Taylor.

In the cases of Messrs. Libby and Oakley, who refused to give up their receipt-books, and have refused to give them up to this day, a close comparison of their condensers with their return-books showed Mr. Oakley to be in default \$34,204 06, this being the amount collected by him and not paid over; while Deputy Collector Libby, more fortunate, reduced his known deficiency, by exhibiting Collector Taylor's receipts, to the sum of \$66 88.

Ex-Street-Commissioner Cooper, however, adds, in the report from which these figures have been taken, that "it is probable that considerable amounts have been collected and not paid to the Chamberlain on these assessments; and it is probable the total deficiency will be increased by such amounts"—this total being, as already stated, \$227,102 99—Mr. Cooper giving as his reason for this belief that "receipts for payments on these assessments, not credited 'on the records, have been presented at this 'office.' With this correction as to the precise division of the amounts retained by each of the Deputy Collectors, and the increase of the total deficiency for which Taylor is liable, our article of yesterday is fully verified by the official records of the Department having cognizance of these frauds.

WHERE WE ARE.

It is not to be denied that some fermentation is going on in the Republican party; nor that it has its origin in propositions to adopt new certain of the principles or measures against which the party contended in the late election. It is due to the authors of these disturbing propositions to state that they positively deny that they countenance the purpose imputed, and claim that they are "misunderstood by some and misrepresented by others." On the other hand, both the perverse and the obtuse are entitled to have it said that most of the explanations vouchsafed thus far are scarcely less cloudy than the propositions themselves; and the editor of *The Albany Evening Journal* has been so much less lucid than his habit, that he has been called to lament publicly the misconceptions of his "own editorial household."

It is a gratifying circumstance that in the midst of all this confusion, one thing, and that rather important, seems to be settled beyond cavil, to wit: the Republican party is to be allowed to retain its liberal principles without surrender, or even abatement. This ought to content the friends of Freedom everywhere; while to compensate for this license to its adversary, it is expected that Slavery will be allowed to go into possession of the Territories of the nation, and also of the Free States, to whatever extent comity, or the convenience of Slavery may from time to time require. This certainly ought to mollify that exasperated interest.

If the programme ended here, the amiable character of the scheme would impress all lovers of concord, but no pains are taken to conceal the more turbulent feature of Coercion. It is, perhaps, the least foggy of all the purposes shadowed, that, in case Slavery shall refuse to take what it wants, and what it has been clamoring and contriving for so many years, "a 'united North,' joined to the Union element in the Border States, is relied upon to coerce 'a 'just, benign, beneficent,' and now sovereign institution, into an acceptance of its own terms, at whatever cost of fraternal blood and treasure. The preservation of the Union is held to be worth even such a struggle; and there remains to the aforesaid lovers of concord only the consolation that the war to be evoked by this Coercion is not likely to interrupt the pursuits of civil life, or burden the country with another pension-list.

"A powerful Union sentiment" is alleged to exist in the Border States; but the means by which alone it is declared it can be made serviceable to the Union it loves so powerfully is of a character to force the doubt whether it is really more loyal or less threatening to the Union than the Disunionism of the Gulf States. There seems to be—on the authority of our compromisers—no escape from a most unwelcome conclusion—namely, that this saving element can work for the benefit of the Union upon the single condition that there be conceded, for the sake of the Unionism of the Border, all, and perhaps a little more than the Disunionism of the Gulf ever demanded! In plain English, if Freedom will now surrender to Slavery the miserable remnant of its political rights and material property, which thus far it has been able to save from larceny and treason, the patriots of the Border will cry: "The Union—it must and shall be preserved." If South Carolina shall be permitted to extinguish the fires of constitutional Liberty, Kentucky will not herself secede, nor allow South Carolina to do so. A powerful Union sentiment, indeed; but union with what?

Is it then, stripped of all disguises, feeble, demoted South Carolina, or stout and sane Kentucky, which, under such circumstances, would bid Freedom "Stand and deliver!" Has Secession levied heavier benevolences than are threatened in the name of Border Unionism? Who doubts that, if the pretensions of the Secessionists were deferred to, neither Border nor any other States would be needed to keep the seceding States in the Union? It would become their Union—why should they go out of it? Is there force or fraud enough in sophistry to obscure or overcome the mortifying truth, that in such a capitulation the Free States would be absorbed by a confederacy of Slave States? Small merit

would there be in the adherence of the Slave States to a Union which, practically, would add to the domain of